

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01

DRC-01 /164 W

----- 082485

R 261743Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8897

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 16998

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR TOUR D'HORIZON

REF: BONN 11620

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING NOV 23 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF,
FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH COMMENTED
ON CURRENT MBFR ISSUES, MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS CON-
CERNING TREATMENT OF COMMON CEILING IN ALLIED FRAMEWORK
PROPOSAL, UPCOMING SPC DISCUSSION OF STABILIZING
MEASURES AND SOVIET PERFORMANCE SO FAR IN VIENNA
NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY

1. COMMON CEILING. AMBASSADOR ROTH EXPRESSED SATISFAC-
TION THAT COMPROMISE HAD BEEN REACHED PERMITTING TABLING
OF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL LAST WEEK IN VIENNA. HE

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SAID IT HAD BEEN DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN DEFENSE

MINISTRY AGREEMENT PERMITTING ACQUIESCENCE BY FRG NATO
PERM REP KRAPF ON COMMON CEILING ISSUE. ROTH SAID
FONOFF HAD HAD TO FIGHT HARD TO OVERCOME DEFENSE
MINISTRY INSISTENCE THAT ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL
CALL FOR COMPLETION OF COMMON CEILING WITHIN FOUR-YEAR
TIME FRAME. WHILE THE FONOFF HAD CARRIED THE DAY ON
THIS MATTER, ROTH SAID THIS LATEST INTERMINISTERIAL
DISPUTE REFLECTED CONTINUING TOUGH DEFENSE MINISTRY
POSITION ON COMMON CEILING ISSUE.

2. STABILIZING MEASURES. WITH FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL NOW
APPROVED AND SPC ATTENTION TURNING TO ALLIED POSITION ON
STABILIZING MEASURES, ROTH PLANS TO VISIT LONDON NOV 29
IN EFFORT TO REACH COMMON POSITION WITH THE BRITISH
ON CONSTRAINTS, AS WELL AS ON NUCLEAR ASPECTS OF MBFR.
AS TO SUBSTANCE OF CONSTRAINT ISSUES, ROTH GENERALLY
ADHERED TO FRG POSITIONS REPORTED REFTEL. HE LAID
PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON "LIMITED DURATION APPROACH" AS
A WAY TO GET AROUND THE STILL CONTENTIOUS PROBLEM OF
AREA. HE ALSO EXPRESSED READINESS TO SUPPORT PARA 23
MEASURES I AND III (MINUS REFERENCE TO LOCATION AND
NUMBER). ON CBM-TYPE MEASURES II AND IV, ROTH SAID
MEASURE II IS MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN MEASURE IV FOR THE
REASONS INDICATED IN REFTEL--PARA 4. HE PREFERS TO
INSIST ON SOVIET AGREEMENT IN CSCE TO CBM'S APPLICABLE
TO CONTINENTAL EUROPE BEFORE DEALING WITH THESE TWO
CBM-TYPE MEASURES IN MBFR CONTEXT. HOWEVER, ROTH
REPEATED ROTH'S REMARK TO EMBOFF THAT FRG COULD CONSIDER
AT LEAST MEASURE II IN MBFR IF U.S. AFFIRMED ITS
READINESS TO FIGHT FOR SATISFACTORY MANEUVER CBM'S
WITH BROAD TERRITORIAL APPLICATIONS IN GENEVA.

3. COMMENTING ON SOVIET PERFORMANCE SO FAR AT VIENNA,
ROTH SAID HE BELIEVED THE RELATIVELY MODERATE DRAFT
TABLED BY MOSCOW HAD THE MAIN PURPOSE OF PROBING FOR

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 16998

CRACKS IN ALLIED SOLIDARITY. GIVEN CENTRAL PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCE IN EAST/WEST STRATEGIC CONCEPTS, ROTH BELIEVED THE RUSSIANS FELT RELATIVELY SECURE IN THIS ESSENTIALLY TACTICAL APPROACH. HE VOICED VIEW THAT, FOLLOWING THIS INITIAL PERIOD, SOVIETS MIGHT TURN TO SOMEWHAT TOUGHER TACTICS. HE THOUGHT THIS WOULD PRESENT NO PROBLEM IF THE WESTERN ALLIES WOULD APPROACH THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PATIENCE AND SOLIDARITY. GIVEN THE SURPRISE VOICED BY POLISH NEGOTIATOR STRULAK WHEN TOLD THAT THE RUSSIANS HAD LEAKED THE EASTERN PROPOSAL TO THE PRESS, ROTH SAID HE ASSUMED CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES IN VIENNA WERE STRICTLY A FUNCTION OF SOVIET CONVENIENCE.

4. ROTH SAID HE FELT THE WEST SHOULD PRESS RUSSIAN DEL REPS IN VIENNA VERY HARD IN AN EFFORT TO REACH A COMMON DATA BASE. HE NOTED THAT SOVIET REPS HAD
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TENDED TO SHY AWAY FROM SUCH ALLIED SUGGESTIONS SO FAR WITH RATHER LAME EXCUSES. HE BELIEVED THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT POINT FOR THE WEST AND ONE THAT SHOULD BE PURSUED AT THE PRESENT TIME WITH VIGOR.

5. IN CLOSING, ROTH SAID HE HAS GAINED IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS ARE SOMEWHAT CONCERNED BY THE INCREASED WESTERN PRESS ATTENTION TO PROPOSALS FOR EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. THE RUSSIANS WERE APPARENTLY DISCONCERTED BY THE RECENT ALL-DAY GERMAN CABINET DISCUSSIONS OF DEFENSE AND EUROPEAN ISSUES AT SCHLOSS

GYMNICH AND BY SPEECHES TO THE WEU ASSEMBLY LAST WEEK
BY JOBERT AND LEBER. ROTH SAID HE IS CONVINCED THAT
A MAJOR SOVIET GOAL IN MBFR IS TO PRECLUDE IN A
DEFINITIVE MANNER THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FUTURE
EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MBFR, ARMISTICE, ALLIANCE, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973BONN16998
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731114/aaaaakaa.tel
Line Count: 175
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: BONN 11620
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR TOUR D'HORIZON
TAGS: PARM, GE, NATO
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005